DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 173 497 UD 019 584

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TITLE The Asian American Employment Market: The Japanese Experience.
PUB DATE [79]
NOTE 22p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation; Asian Americans; *Employment Opportunities; *Equal Opportunities (Jobs); Historical Reviews; *Immigrants; *Japanese Americans; Migration; *Racial Discrimination; *Social Mobility; Social Status

ABSTRACT

The Japanese Americans are numerically the largest of all the Asian American ethnic groups. In contrast to the other Asian American groups in the United States, the Japanese Americans are predominantly native born. Although first and second generation Japanese Americans had been subject to intense employment discrimination before World War II and over 100,000 were interned in relocation centers during the War, they have since come to be viewed as the model minority. The important factors contributing to their success are their heavy emphasis on education as the key to success, their upward occupational mobility into professional and technical jobs, and their eastward migration after the War in pursuit of less discriminatory geographic areas and jobs. The present day geographic distribution of Japanese Americans is conditioned by socioeconomic factors. By a process of adaptation and accomodation, the first generation Japanese American paved the way for subsequent generations. The success of the second and third generations now raises the possibility of their total absorption into the 'melting pot' and their loss of identity as Japanese Americans. (RLV)

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JUN 2 6 1979

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THE ASIAN AMERICAN EMPLOYMENT MARKET: THE JAPANESE EXPERIENCE

by

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THE ASIAN AMERICAN EMPLOYMENT MARKET: THE JAPANESE EXPERIENCE

Kazuo Sato

1. Introduction

Of the Asian American ethnic groups, Japanese Americans have been the largest one. The 1970 Census of Population counted some 0.6 million for this group as against 0.45 million Chinese Americans, the second largest. Of these half a million or so, one third lived in Hawaii, another one third in California, and the last one third scattered all over the United States mainland. In contrast to the other Asian American groups, a great many of whose members are recent immigrants, Japanese Americans are mostly (80% in 1970) native born--a good many of them born of native-born parents. (The ratio was 63% for Chinese Americans.) Contemporary working-age Japanese Americans are thus mainly of the second and third generations; first-generation immigrants have been relatively few after World War II.

As any other new immigrant groups, Japanese Americans of the first and second generations had been subject to intense employment discrimination before World War II. On top of that, they were herded into "relocation centers", an euphemism of concentration camps, as enemy aliens for the duration of the Pacific War--the severest and openest discrimination ever inflicted upon any single ethnic group in the United States.

The situation, however, changed almost overnight when the war ended. Japanese Americans, who had been regarded as bad,

undesirable, and unassimilable aliens, were now considered good, desirable and hard-working citizens. With three decades already behind since the end of World War II, the economic experience of Japanese Americans have repeatedly been cited in the popular press as a success story, to be emulated by other ethnic minority groups.

A recent econometric study of eight ethnic groups (Negro, American Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban) based on 1960 and 1970 Census of Population samples has indeed found that the Japanese Americans are a group economically least discriminated relative to the major white group (Gwartney and Long (1978)). The aggregate data of the 1970 Census of Population reveal that, in 1970, the unemployment rate was 2.0% for Japanese males and 3.0% for Japanese females vis-a-vis 3.8% and 5.3% for the entire population. Similarly, the percentage of families below the poverty line was 6.4% for the Japanese Americans in contrast to 8.7% for the White. (See Table 1.)

How could Japanese Americans achieve this remarkable success, particularly because they were the most openly discriminated minority group up to World War II? It is well known that, through the history of their immigration into the United States, Japanese Americans exhibited an inordinately high degree of adaptation and accommodation to the external, usually hostile, environment. Their contemporary success can also be attributed to the same tradition. As we shall explain below, the important factors contributing to their success are the heavy emphasis on education as the key to

success, the upward occupational mobility into professional, technical, and managerial jobs that human capital formation enabled the Japanese youths to pursue, and the eastward migration after World War II in pursuit of less discriminatory areas and jobs.

2. Generations of the Japanese Americans

By now, there are several generations of the Japanese Americans. The Issei are first-generation immigrants from Japan who came to Hawaii and the West Coast in the period from 1885 to 1924. The Issei group is virtually gone. (In 1970, the group was in their 80s and accounted for some 8% of the total Japanese American population.) Their American-born children, Nisei (second generation), came of age in the 1930s and the 1940s. (In 1970, the average age of the Nisei group was about 50.) The Sansei (third generation) were born predominantly after World War II and came of age around 1965. The Yonsei (fourth generation) are now in school age. Thus, at the time of the last decennial census in 1970, the older half of the working-age population was the Nisei and the younger half the Sansei. (See Table 3.) In addition, there are New Issei who immigrated after World War II. This group was about 15% of the Japanese American population in 1970. The group is peculiar in that nearly three-quarters of them were "war brides", many of them having already been lost in the maelstream of the American community as far as the ethnic group is concerned. (In 1970, 70% of first-generation immigrants (since 1945), 16 years and

over, were female.) Unlike the other Asian American groups, new immigration has been only of marginal importance to the Japanese American group since only some 5,000 immigrants have been coming to the United States every year. (See Table s5.)

By going over experiences of these successive generations of the immigrants, one can see how they gradually acculturated themselves to the larger society. There are a number of sociological studies of the group. We are here interested in briefly examining its economic responses over time.

The immigration from Japan begun in good earnest in 1885. The Chinese Exclusion eliminated Chinese immigrants from the United States at this time. Sugar plantations in Hawaii immediately felt shortage of farm labor. The government of Hawaii (this was before the Annexation) concluded an agreement with the Japanese government. In the ten years since 1885 when the first immigration boat sailed to Hawaii, 30,000 Japanese workers came to Hawaii. From 1894 to 1900, emigration agents who took over the immigration business sent over 40,000 more. As they were on three-year contracts, many returned home but other emigrated further to the West Coast after Hawaii was annexed by the United States. In the 1890s, California was also short of farm labor. Hence, Japanese immigrants started to arrive. Along with it, a strong anti-Japanese movement was also afoot in California. Immigration continued with ups and downs such as the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908 which cut down Japanese immigration for a while. Male immigrants were then joined

by "picture brides" from Japan, rectifying the extremely biased sex ratio. Finally in 1924, Oriental Exclusion aimed specifically at Japanese immigration was incorporated in the Immigration Act and Japanese immigration came to an end.

The Issei group was legally discriminated. On ground of "unassimilability", the Issei were denied the right to naturalize. Nonetheless, they proved to be economically extremely adaptable. They came from farm families in Japan and became farmers in the West Coast. (The Issei in Hawaii had experiences different from what follows, because Japanese Americans were the numerically dominant group in the islands.) At first, lacking necessary capital, they worked as farm labor. They found themselves economically discriminated with lower wages than white workers. They therefore became tenant farmers by leasing land from landowners. They hired other Japanese as farm hands, paying wages comparable to white wages. However, there was economic discrimination in the form of higher land rent per land value when compared with non-Japanese leasees (see Higgs (1978)). Land leasing continued as some Japanese immigrants did not intend to stay on in the United States but those who decided to stay begun to buy land on mortgage, which proved to be cheaper than paying rent (the Japanese Association of America (1940)), and became independent farmers. Unfortunately, their success backfired into Yellow phobia among Californian residents. Anti-Japanese legislation was repeatedly attempted through the 1910s and finally in 1920 the Alien Land Law was

passed in California prohibiting not only land ownership but also land lease of Japanese immigrants. However, the law soon became dead letters because Japanese farmers could act as guardians to Nisei children who could own farm land in their name (Higgs (1978)). There were other legal loopholes that allowed Japanese farmers to operate farms. Thus, the Issei's economic history is that of adaptation and accommodation in face of open discrimination.

By 1930, with the cessation of immigration and the return of many immigrants to the home country, a half of the Japanese population was already Nisei. Through the 1930s they reached maturity. Though the Issei themselves had at most eight years of schooling at home, they regarded education as the key to their children's success in the alien culture. They placed strong emphasis on high achievement of their children at school. Good education meant good jobs outside of farming. But with the strong anti-Japanese atmosphere in California, with the Great Depression going on, the Nisei seeking jobs commensurate with their education met strong discrimination. Failing to find adequate jobs, they had to come back to the ethnic community, getting along with menial jobs in the ghetto or setting up small shops catering to the enhnic community if capital could be raised. (See Ichihashi (1932), Strong (1934)).

However, the most calamitous event to the Issei and Nisei was the evacuation of enemy aliens into "relocation centers" upon the outbreak of the Pacific War with Japan. American citizens or

not, 110,000 Japanese Americans in the mainland were forced to give up their properties and move into concentration camps where they had to stay till the end of the war, 1945.

The event proved to be cathartic to the Japanese Americans in a number of ways. One is that the geographical dispersal was forced upon them. A substantial portion of Nisei was relocated from camps into the Midwest and the East (Minneapolis, Chicago, Cleveland, and New York). Being afraid of anti-Japanese sentiments in the West Coast, many decided not to return there after the war. Table 6 clearly indicates this break between 1940 and 1950. Twenty percent of the Japanese population moved away from the West Coast. They were heavily relocated in Illinois (Chicago) and Middle Atlantic (New York, New Jersy, and Pennsylvania). This is where the postwar experience of the Japanese Americans began.

3. Changes in 1950-1970

Postwar developments for the Japanese Americans began with the forced dispersal of the wartime. Their eastward migration has continued since then. One can read from Table 6 that the decade from 1950 to 1960 was the period of readjustment--some returned to the West Coast, quite a few moved out of Hawaii to the mainland, and the population was redistributed within the rest of the country. The decade of 1960 to 1970 saw a continued outflow of population from Hawaii to the West Coast and from the West Coast toward the East and the Midwest. Altogether, there has been a marked redistribution of the Japanese American population within the

United States.

The initial relocation was a forced one and the subsequent migration was no doubt facilitated by the presence of relatives and acquaintances in destinations. Still, migration is a major decision. As is well known, migration involves heavy pecuniary and nonpecuniary costs. The latter factor is particularly strong for a member of a minority group when he or she has to pull out of the ethnic community, leaving behind his or her family, relatives, and friends. There must be very high prospective rewards from migration over and above what one can expect at one's home place if one is to decide to move over a long distance.

The Japanese Americans are heavily concentrated in Hawaii and California because of historical circumstances. The Japanese are the major group in Hawaii, accounting for 28% of the population in 1970, the islands are small and economic opportunities are limited. This point is clearly observed in the occupational distribution in Hawaii in comparison to that elsewhere. (See Table 8.) Very many Japanese Americans are in manual labor in Hawaii. The lack of adequate white collar jobs is a significant motivation for migration to the mainland.

In California, the Japanese Americans have been moving into the professions in an increasing number. However, one Nisei soiologist--an authority on the Japanese American mores--observes the presence of subtler types of discrimination in terms of promotion and advancement to administrative and supervisory responsibility

against the Japanese Americans on the West Coast. He notes that, in general, the East is more colour-blind but also more class-conscious while the West is less class-bound but much more race-conscious (Kitano (1969), p.52). With this sort of a milieu, enterprising, young, and well-educatid Japanese Americans would no doubt have viewed the East and the Midwest as possessing much more attractive economic opportunities. Here, the final decision to migrate depends heavily on the generations' attitude toward the family and the ethnic community. The family is of high importance not only for economic but also for emotional dependence. The same sociologist remarks: "The young Japanese, just out of high school or college, does not go east to Chicago or New York to look for job opportunities, even though this might be a sensible thing to do, because he expects and is expected to remain near his family" (Kitano (1969), p.67). With the Sansei, this emotional tie with the family has been weakening. Another not unimportant factor is finding marriage partners. If marriages are desired to be within the ethnic group, marriageable youths remain in the ethnic community, forgoing economic opportunities outside. In fact, some families came back to the West with this objective specifically in mind. The Sansei are again less averse to inter-racial marriages than their parents are. Such attitudianal changes and relaxation of the family ties reduce nonpecuniary costs of migration. The Sansei had come of age in the decade of the 1960s. Young and well-educated, they proved to be the most mobile.

Our speculation thus suggests that the young and highly educated moved out of Hawaii and California toward the East. Characteristics of Japanese American males in a few Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA), reported in Table 4, verify our speculation. First, since it it is the young that have moved, the median age of the population should be higher in destinations (Chicago, New York) than in origins. Second, since it is the college graduates that have moved, the percentage of college graduates ought to be higher in destinations (New York) than in origins (Honolulu and Los Angeles-Long Beach).

As is well known, the mobility is the attributes of professional and executive jobs. The Japanese American males are much more heavily specialized in these lines of work than the American males as a whole, especially when Hawaii is excluded. (See Table 7.) This specialization is more pronounced, the farther away from the West Coast. (See Table 8.)

The geogrphic distribution of the Japanese American population is thus conditioned by socio-economic factors. An additional piece of evidence that corroborates this observation is the last column of Table 6, which gives the geographical distribution of Japanese permanent residents. This group is approximately 15% of the mainland Japanese American population. It consisted mostly (some three-quarters) of postwar immigrants, new Issei (40% of whome had been naturalized). They (particularly, males) tended

to be highly educated and professional or technical (see Table 7). As such, they must have had less constraints on their migration and responded much more strongly to economic incentives. Take note of a striking similarity of the geographic distribution of this group to the 1970 distribution of the larger group in the mainland. As is expected, Hawaii is not preferred.

4. Is success real or superfical?

Geographic and occupational choices of the Japanese Americans since World War II seem to be a classical case of the neoclassical economic theory of human capital formation and migration. Their behaviors are in the tradition of the Issei who adapted themselves extremely flexibly to the System in order to get the best gains at the least resistance. They emphasized educational investment in their children because the least discriminatory occupations are the most human-capital intensive. (Median school years completed of Japanese Americans, 25 years and over, jumped from a little below 9 years in 1940 to a little above 12 years in 1950 and stabilized at 12½ years in 1960 snad 1970(see Table 2 and Petersen (1971, p. 114)). Compare these figures with those for the total population: 8.3 years (1940), 9.0 (1950), 10.7 years (1959), and 12.2 years (1970). (See Historical Statistics of the United States (1975), vol. I, Series H 609.))

When economic opportunities were lacking or economic discrimination was present, they migrated to areas where opportunities were more ample and economic discrimination was expected to be less

powerful. It must be this sort of adaptation and accommodation that have reduced economic discrimination, at least in statistics, against Japanese Americans.

However, as many sociolists have pointed out, this economic success of Japanese Americans owes a great deal to the complete reversal in the images or stereotypes of the Japanese Amerians as envisaged by the majority White group from the bad, undesirable Americans to the good, desirable Americans (Ogawa (1971)). Japanese Americans have been regarded as docile, obedient, self-effacing, uncomplaining, and cooperative to the authorities of the Establishment. They have been accepted into the System on these terms. They have been allowed to go up the professional ladders as they are not expected to rock the boat. Therefore, they are given dependable subordinate technocratic positions. Many Japanese Americans left Hawaii and California exactly for the reason that their career prospects were limited there. They have improved their economic positions through their geographic and occupational mobility. But some believe that they have already come to the limit allowed by the Establishment. Any career advancement beyond this ceiling is likely to encounter strong discriminatory measures. (This is the middle-man position as Kitano calls it, see Tsuruki (1976).)

Moreover, even this limited success has been not without cost on the part of Japanese Americans as an ethnic group. First of all, in their eastward migration, they have had to leave their ethnic community in Hawaii and California. Are they going to develop

their own ethnic communities as in New York City and Chicago so that they maintain their ethnic identity? Or are they going to forsake their ethnicity, regard themselves as whites except for skin colour, get into intermarraiges, and eventually melt in the "melting pot"? That is to say, has their success been bought at the present or future loss of their own identity?

The problem is very closely tied with the generational composition of the Japanese American group. The Nisei, who are now 50 to 60 years old, have still been emotionaly under the strong influence of the home country, Japan, even though their emotions may be highly ambivalent.

However, the kinship with Japan is largely diluted with the younger Sansei and Yonsei. They are the ones who face their own image problem, particularly because of their economic success. How should they view themselves--a token or show-window minority for the sake of the majority group or a bona fide member of the larger Asian American ethnic groups.

Through the rapid upward mobility, the Japanese Americans have broken into the upper middle class. Cut off their ethnic traditions, they identify themselves less with Japanese and more with American. Their children may behave more like American. Then, there will be no more Japanese American problem. This probably is the most important lesson that the employment experience of the Japanese Americans give to the other Asian American groups, however the reader may interprete it.

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Table 1. Employment characteristics of ethnic groups, 1970

	Total	White	Negro	Spanish origin	Japanese	Chinese	Filipinos	Korean
Unemployment rate, 16 years & over								
male	3.8	3.6	6.1	5.5	2.0	3.0	4.7	3.6
female	5.3	5.0	7.8	8.0	3.0	3.7	4.7	5.4
Weeks worked in 1969, 16 years & over								
male 50-52	67.0	68.0	57.8	61.6	70.9	61.2	60.9	...
male 27-49	19.9	19.1	27.4	25.1	16.5	21.8	25.1	...
male -26	13.1	12.1	14.8	13.3	12.7	17.0	14.0	...
female 50-52	43.5	43.7	42.2	39.3	52.3	41.9	42.9	...
female 27-49	28.0	27.5	31.8	29.6	25.0	30.4	30.3	...
female -26	28.5	28.8	26.0	31.1	22.7	27.6	26.7	...
Income below the poverty line								
persons	13.6	10.8	34.6	24.4	7.5	13.3	13.7	...
families	11.6	8.7	25.1	19.4	6.4	10.3	11.5	...
Median income of persons, 16 years and over								
male	6670		4158	5217	7574	5223	5019	6435
female	2237		2041	2313	3236	2686	3513	2741

SOURCE: Census of Population, 1970, volume 2-1B, table 4; 1C, table 7; 1G, tables 4, 7, 19, 22, 23, 34, 37, 39, 49; 6A, table 1, 9A, table 1.

Table 2. Years of school completed, 25 years and over, in 1970

	Total	Native of native parents				Japan-ese	Chin-ese	Fili-pinos	Koreas
		White	Negro	Amer. Indian	Others				
No school years com-pleted	1.6	0.9	3.3	7.8	2.5	1.8	11.1	5.6	2.8
Median years completed	12.1	12.2	9.7	9.9	12.2	12.5	12.4	12.2	12.9
% High School graduated	52.4	57.1	31.0	33.5	56.2	68.8	57.8	54.7	71.1
% College graduated	10.6	11.8	4.2	3.5	12.6	15.9	25.7	27.5	36.3

SOURCE: Census of Population, 1970, volume 2-1G, table3, 18, 33, 48; volume 2-5B, table 1.

Table 3. Age distribution of Japanese Americans by sex, 1970

Age	Total	Male	Female
0-14	23.6	26.1	21.4
15-24	16.3	17.4	15.3
25-34	13.7	13.1	14.2
35-44	17.9	14.2	21.1
45-54	14.3	14.8	13.8
55-64	6.2	6.8	5.7
65-74	4.7	4.4	5.0
75-	3.3	3.1	3.5

SOURCE: Census of Population, 1970, volume 2-1G, table 2.

Table 4. Characteristics of Japanese American Males in selected SMSAs, 1970

	Honolulu	Los Angeles-Long Beach	San Francisco-Oakland	San Jose	Seattle	Chicago	New York
Median age	29.0	30.0	30.4	27.9	29.5	32.9	32.7
25-34 years % HS graduates	94.0	92.2	94.0	98.2	94.6	88.6	88.9
% college graduates	23.6	34.5	49.4	49.6	49.6	51.1	64.5
16 years and over, median income	8252	7890	7709	9084	7859	8573	8339

SOURCE: Census of Population, 1970, volume 2-1G, table 12, 13.

Table 5. Japanese immigration into the U.S. (thousands)

U.S. statics		Japanese statistics				
			Total	Marriages	Adoptions	Others
1951-60	46.3	1951-60	51.9	40.4	3.3	6.4
1961-70	40.0	1961-69	29.5	18.3	1.4	9.8
1971-75	25.9					

SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States, Part I, series C-106; Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976; Mihistry of Foreign Affairs (Japan), Wagakuni Kokumin no Kaigai Hatten, Shiryo Hen (no date), table I-1 to I-20.

Table 6. Geographic distribution of the Japanese population in the United States, 1900-1970

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	Permanent residents, 1968
U.S. Mainland	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Pacific Division	75.1	80.0	84.2	86.5	88.5	69.3	68.6	64.7	61.4
California	(41.7)	(57.4)	(64.8)	(70.4)	(73.8)	(59.9)	(60.3)	(57.5)	(54.6)
Washington	(23.1)	(17.9)	(15.7)	(12.6)	(11.5)	(6.8)	(6.4)	(5.5)	(5.0)
Oregon	(10.3)	(4.7)	(3.7)	(3.6)	(3.2)	(2.6)	(1.9)	(1.7)	(1.4)
Mountain Division	21.0	14.7	9 6	8.2	6.8	10.0	6.7	5.5	4.2
Other dividions	3.9	5.3	6.2	5.5	4.7	20.7	24.4	29.8	34.4
New England	.4	.2	.3	.3	.3	.5	1.3	2.0	2.4
Middle Atlantic	1.8	2.3	2.9	2.6	2.4	4.7	5.6	8.5	9.0
South Atlantic	.1	.2	.3	.3	.3	1.0	3.3	4.4	7.4
East North Central	.5	.7	.8	.7	.6	11.3	8.8	9.1	8.3
East South Central	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.2	.8	.9	1.4
West North Central	.9	1.4	1.1	.7	.6	1.9	2.4	2.5	2.4
West South Central	.1	.6	.5	.5	.4	.9	2.1	2.4	3.5
Hawaii/U.S. mainland	251	111	98	101	124	130	78	59	34

Average annual growth rate (%)

U.S. Mainland	11.5	4.4	2.2	-.9	1.1	6.3	3.7
Pacific	12.2	4.9	2.5	-.6	-1.3	6.2	3.0
California	14.9	5.7	3.1	-.4	-1.0	6.4	3.1
Mountain	7.5	.0	.5	-2.9	5.2	2.1	1.5
Other divisions	14.8	6.2	.5	-1.8	17.1	8.2	5.5
Hawaii	2.7	3.2	2.5	1.1	1.6	1.0	.6

SOURCES: Kitano (1969), table 13; Census of Population, 1970, volume 2-1G, Table ; Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Japan), Wagakuni Kokumin no Kaigai Hatten, Shiryo Hen (no date).

Table 7. Occupational distribution of ethnic groups, males, 16 years and over, 1970

		Japanese		Chinese	Filipinos
	total	total	immigrants 1945-70		
White collars	39.7	48.1	64.5	54.1	32.5
Professional....	14.0	21.4	34.4	28.9	18.1
Managers.....	10.9	11.7	17.2	11.4	3.1
Sales workers...	7.6	6.0	6.1	4.4	2.1
Clerical.....	6.8	9.0	6.8	9.4	9.2
Manual workers	48.0	39.9	22.1	21.1	35.5
Craftsmen.....	21.3	19.7	7.1	7.3	13.1
Operatives.....	19.8	10.3	4.6	10.5	14.2
Laborers.....	7.0	9.9	10.4	3.3	8.2
Farm workers	4.5	5.2	3.5	.7	11.7
Farmers.....	2.7	3.1	.8	.4	.7
Farm laborers...	1.7	2.1	2.7	.3	11.0
Service workers	8.2	6.5	9.5	24.0	20.2
Service workers.	8.1	6.3	8.8	23.6	19.9
Private households	.1	.2	.7	.4	.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Census of Population, 1970, volume 1A, Table 18; volume 2-1G, Table 7, 22, 37.

Table 8. Occupational distribution of Japanese American males, 16 years and over, 1970

	U.S. total	Hawaii	California	Washington	New York	Illinois	All others
Professional,...	21.4	14.0	24.0	22.2	29.5	29.1	33.0
Managers...	11.7	12.4	10.4	13.4	24.0	11.0	9.7
Sales workers	6.0	6.0	5.9	6.1	12.3	6.5	4.4
Clerical...	9.0	9.7	8.8	9.9	9.1	11.7	6.8
Craftsmen...	19.7	30.2	12.7	11.5	10.5	19.4	12.6
Operatives...	10.3	11.4	9.2	9.7	6.3	12.3	10.7
Laborers...	9.9	6.4	16.4	10.6	1.8	3.5	5.5
Farmers...	3.1	1.2	4.7	3.3	.4	.1	5.9
Farm laborers...	2.1	1.8	2.4	2.8	.4	.8	3.1
Service workers...	6.3	6.7	5.2	10.2	5.3	5.6	8.2
Private Household workers	.2	.0	.4	.3	.5	-	.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Census of Population, 1970, volume 2-1G, table 7.

Table 9. Shifts in Occupational distribution in California, males employed, 14 years and over

	Japanese Americans				Total	
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1960	1970
Professional,...	3.8	4.4	15.0	23.8	13.0	17.5
Managers...	19.8	8.6	7.9	10.3	12.3	12.1
Sales workers	21.1	8.8	12.7	6.1	7.7	5.9
Clerical...				8.8	6.8	5.7
Craftsmen...	2.9	5.2	10.4	12.6	20.6	19.2
Operatives...	6.2	6.5	9.1	9.2	15.5	15.4
Laborers...	26.4	17.9	5.9	16.5	6.5	6.0
Farmers...	4.3	17.1	21.4	4.7	2.0	.9
Farm laborers...	4.6	19.4	9.2	2.4	3.3	2.1
Service workers	8.3	5.4	3.5	5.3	6.4	8.8
Private Household workers	2.3	3.2	1.1	.4	.1	.1
N.e.c.	.3	3.5	3.8	-	5.2	6.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: 1940-1960: Kitano (1969), table 25;
1970: Census of Population, volume 2-1G, Table 7; volume 1-6, Table 170.